LABOUR MONTHLY

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Labour Party Conference:

SPEAK FOR BRITAIN

R.P.D. on Labour and the Common Market

*

ROBERT WILLIS: *on Germany*

D. N. PRITT: *on Fascism*

OCTOBER 1962

One Shilling and Sixpence

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FACTS IN BLOOD

FOUR HUNDRED years ago this month the Elizabethan adventurer, Sir John Hawkins, displayed his enterprise by opening up an historic trade between England, Africa and America. On his first passage he took a cargo of trading goods from England to Sierra Leone; on the middle passage he loaded up a cargo of African men and women to trade as slaves across the Atlantic; and on the third passage he returned with the wealth of the plantations. This pioneer of empire, whose flagship was the *Jesus*, found the middle passage the most profitable leg of the venture. There were heavy risks, of course; you could easily lose three quarters of the cargo on the middle passage by death and disease; and because the profits could be so high, he was by no means alone in the field. God-fearing slave traders of other nationalities—French, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish and Danish—eagerly brought the same benefits of progress and Christianity, both the Catholic and Protestant varieties, to the whole of the beckoning New World. Quite a little 'European Economic Community', with the millions on the west coast of Africa —present-day Ghana and Nigeria—obliged to be, in a sense, 'associate members'. Such were the early origins of a trade which was a first foundation of the bulk of early primitive fortunes in England, which could then be devoted to 'economic development' at home, as our peasant forefathers slowly learned, when 'the march of progress' threw them off their patches of land into the dark satanic mills. As to the New World, the international enterprise flourished exceedingly and continued for another 250 years, until a decade after the French Revolution had inspired a successful revolution of the Negroes in Haiti, who did not see why they too, as French citizens, should not enjoy liberty, equality and fraternity; a terrifying event!

It is against this ancient historical background that you can glimpse the crazed panic that the present successful revolution in Cuba has struck into the heart of every reactionary in the Americas; there are quite a few of them, together with their serving men and hangers on. The new march of progress shows up the old slaver mentality—the all-powerful boss, who cannot sleep at night without his hand on the gun and the hatches battened down. How far from their territory still is that Fourth Freedom—the Freedom from Fear. Today, as a U.S. correspondent writes: 'Due to our "democratic state" and being a civil servant, I cannot sign my name—the "free world", you know. But ! read your publication religiously and consider it to be one of the best, if not the best, Marxist magazines in the world'. Ah, but that is the U.S.A.; the Commonwealth today is surely different? or at least the *white* Commonwealth? Note these three readers writing from different parts of Canada: 'I don't think you can grasp the extent that the concentrated brain-washing of the Canadian public has reached. Just as Hitler degenerated a couple of generations of young Germans with the same technique, it is becoming dangerous to voice a progressive contrary idea to the average man in the street.' An old stager recalls 1925, working as 'an ash-slinger' in a paper company plant: 'It was a company town, and I used to get my copies of L.M. passed through to me from outside.

(Continued on page iii of cover)

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Notes of the Month

SPEAK FOR BRITAIN

He who seizes the right moment is the right man.
(Goethe, *Faust*.)

A GOLDEN opportunity is within the grasp of this year's Labour Party Conference. It is obvious to every observer that all political alignments are profoundly affected by the impending decision on the fateful question of the Common Market. A severe and testing responsibility will also fall on the Conservative Party Conference in the succeeding week. But it is Labour that can speak the decisive word and take the decisive action. Britain's future existence as an independent and sovereign nation — the essential condition for the advance to socialism—is now laid on the anvil of decision. Labour can stay the hand of the executioner. Within these few weeks the tide of popular opposition has risen to a flood. Despite all the avalanche of official propaganda, press indoctrination, broadcasting flapdoodle, and all the supposedly invincible manifold mechanism of 'mass persuasion', the people have moved the other way. Week by week, as the true issues have become more widely understood, the public opinion polls have registered the steady rise of popular opposition, until it has now reached an absolute majority of opposition (52½ per cent in the last poll published by the *Daily Mail*, a fervid propagandist of the Common

CONTENTS

Vol. XLIV OCTOBER · 1962

	Page
NOTES OF THE MONTH: *Speak for Britain*, by R.P.D.	433
THE MARKET ALTERNATIVE, by Quaestor	445
GERMANY AND OURSELVES, by Robert Willis	449
I WENT THROUGH THE WALL, by E. S. Winley-Greene	452
A HERO'S SWORD RETURNED TO CHINA	456
WE BROTHERS IN JAIL, by Jawadi Ibrahim	458
FASCISM SHALL NOT PASS, by D. N. Pritt, Q.C.	459
DOCUMENT OF THE MONTH: *The Super Profit Squeeze*	470
PUBLIC OWNERSHIP, by J. Gardner	471
TRAMS, by Wilfred Macartney ...	474
Book Reviews:	
Asia in the Balance, by Michael Edwardes: Britain and China, by Evan Luard: The Upsurge of China, by Dr. Hewlett Johnson: *Derek Bryan;* Defence or Retaliation? Helmut Schmidt: *Colin Sweet* ...	476

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Market). In all the records of public opinion polls there is no precedent of such an absolute majority of opposition to a major official policy backed by almost the entire press. Will Labour voice this majority? Will Labour speak for Britain? This is the question of questions before Brighton. The gates to an electoral majority are open. But more, much more, than this is involved. On the answer to this question depends the future of the Labour Party. On the answer to this question depends the political future in Britain.

Off the Fence?

Already the Commonwealth Labour Conference gave the first stimulus to Mr. Gaitskell to move one cautious foot off the fence and issue a joint declaration on behalf of all the Commonwealth Labour representatives condemning the existing terms as 'unacceptable', and adding the Delphic pledge of the Leader of the Labour Party:

> If the Government propose to go into the Common Market on terms which the Labour Party regard as wholly unacceptable, then undoubtedly we should ask for a general election.

Even this partial hint of opposition, even this oracular ambiguous suggestion of a possible demand for a general election on the issue, was enough to open the floodgates. The response aroused, the fury of the enemy, was sufficient to indicate to even the most hardened and cynical Labour electoral expert that he had touched a winner. 'Almost unbelievable', fumed the *Economist* (September 15). 'Calculated to be of maximum mischief to Britain's European aspirations.' 'If reasons of face prevent him from reversing course, an entirely new political situation in Britain will have emerged.' *Verb sap*. 'An entirely new political situation in Britain' is just what people want after eleven years of Tory rule.

Commonwealth Premiers Warn

Immediately after Mr. Gaitskell the Commonwealth Premiers stepped into the fray. All the anxious prior calculations of the Macmillan-Heath-Sandys trio to 'manage' the Conference and smooth over the admitted cracks with a show of the customary ambiguous compromise formulas and sympathetic good intentions were exploded at the outset with such devastating impact that no attempted manœuvre at the end can cancel out the effect. The unanimous outspoken hostility of every Commonwealth Premier to the Common Market proposals struck like a bombshell. Canada led and organ-

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ised the fight of the older White Dominions, and warned that the consequence would mean orientation to the United States. Australia warned that 'the final price was being paid by the Commonwealth'. Even more overwhelming was the unanimous Afro-Asian denunciation of the neo-imperialism which the Common Market in fact represents. This was the sharpest thrust of all. For the Tory manipulators of entry into the Common Market had calculated, while discounting the inevitable alienation of the older White Dominions, to conciliate the Asian Dominions with the very shoddy special trading deal offered. Above all, they had calculated to bribe the African and West Indian newly independent states, just as French imperialism had drawn in its former colonial territories, to become 'Associates' of the august imperialist partners in return for the privilege of duty-free entry of their raw materials and hopes of a few crumbs of largesse from the Common Market 'Development Fund'. In vain. All these calculations received a heavy blow at the outset of the proceedings of the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference. The effect in British official circles was described as 'disappointment', 'deeply depressing' (*The Times*, September 15).

Afro-Asian Opposition

Irrespective of political outlook or alignment, the Afro-Asian Premiers united in condemning the colonialist character of the West European Common Market. Premier Nehru criticised 'the colonial concept which seems to form the basis of the present proposals'. President Ayub Khan of Pakistan denounced the attempt to 're-establish imperialism of the worst kind'. Premier Bustamante of Jamaica compared the Treaty of Rome to 'a surgeon's knife thrust into the body of the Commonwealth'. The representative of Ghana 'asked whether the Commonwealth could survive the dramatic change which would be inflicted on it by Britain's entry and hinted that Ghana might withdraw if Britain entered the Common Market'. Most important of all, the African newly independent States, Nigeria and Ghana and Tanganyika, united in rejecting the insolent proposal to become second class members or 'Associates' (without voting rights) of the West European imperialist Common Market. No doubt the wily British imperialists will still try every manœuvre and subterfuge from their well-practised armoury of corruption and pressure to seek out weaker elements from the most recently colonial states in order to entice and draw them into the net. Every attempt will be made to devise at the end some double-faced compromise

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formula to adorn the corpse of the Commonwealth. But the will of all the Afro-Asian peoples, reflecting the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world, was expressed beyond dispute at the opening of the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference.

Neo-Imperialism and the Common Market

In the intensity of the local discussion in Britain on the pros and cons of the Common Market, the controversy has been guided from on top to take on a petty parochial sectional character, as if it were only a question of Britain and Little Europe (six of the twenty-four European states), with the rest of the world vaguely out of focus save for a few pious charitable hopes not to do too much damage to the Commonwealth. Thus the world character of the issue and the world character of the alternative have been equally concealed from view. The contributions of the Commonwealth Premiers have helped a little to correct this myopia. The distortion has gone so far that the opposition to the Common Market has actually been described as 'narrow', 'nationalist' and 'isolationist', or even (because of the opposition of the Commonwealth peoples and split in the Tory camp) 'imperialist'. The plan for entering the Common Market has been presented as 'internationalist', 'transcending obsolete national frontiers' and 'breaking with imperialism'. What a travesty of the true facts. For it is precisely the Common Market which represents the aim of ultra-imperialism, the engine of neo-colonialism, the enemy recognised and hated, alongside American imperialism, by all the newly independent States and Afro-Asian peoples.

White Man's Club

The Common Market represents a narrow, closed, sectional, restrictive economic-political-military bloc, of 5 per cent of the world's population, surrounded by a tariff wall, against the remaining 95 per cent of the world. More. At the very moment when the colour bar is beginning to break down (even partially, to a still very limited degree, in such a backward world area as the United States, and, also still very partially and with new backward steps like the Immigration Act, in Britain); when the newly emergent independent nations of Africa and Asia are winning their place in the United Nations or in the Commonwealth; the Common Market represents a regressive step to establish anew an imperialist White Man's Club on the basis of Western Europe. Nor is this a mere question of

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status, or an accidental regional characteristic. It is the expression of its economic-political essence.

Tory Impatience with the Commonwealth

For the modern Tories the Commonwealth has become much too multi-racial for their liking. An unmanageable gathering of fifteen Premiers as full members, with only four White Premiers, and a coloured majority, soon to become further enlarged. The tone of Tory expression towards the Commonwealth has changed and become disdainful. Once it was the Ark of the Covenant and the Holy of Holies. Only eleven years ago the Tory Election Programme of 1951 proclaimed:

> In the wider world outside this Island we put first the safety, progress and cohesion of the British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations. To foster commerce within the Empire we shall maintain Imperial Preference. In our home market the Empire producer will have a place second only to the home producer. . .
>
> On these solid foundations we should all continue to labour for a United Europe.

Clear enough. The Empire and Imperial Preference as the first plank of the programme of Toryism. Only after that, as an 'also ran' third point, specifically made subject to the first plank as the 'foundation', the striving for 'European Unity'. All that is changed now. 'With mine own hand I shall undo myself.' The dialectic works fast. The Tories take the lead to destroy the old Empire. Cabinet Minister Hare chides the Commonwealth countries for 'behaving like children'. Earl Home lectures them in the House of Lords: 'Commonwealth countries have to do some hard thinking in terms of hard realities. The Commonwealth is not a centre of power'. Similarly the United Nations has earned the public displeasure of the noble lord; it is becoming overrun with Afro-Asians, who constantly join with the socialist states in carrying resolutions displeasing to British imperialism, although fortunately the discreet British press sees to it that the British public never hears about them. With relief the modern Tories turn to the final sanctum of the West European Common Market, where only White imperialist powers have full membership, Asians are excluded and Africans and West Indians are relegated to their proper place, as subordinate 'Associates' without voting rights, in the Servants' Hall.

West European 'Prosperity' by Colonial Impoverishment

Premier Balewa of Nigeria, the moderate, cautious, conservative,

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quiet-spoken Premier Balewa, cut deepest in his address to the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference by exposing the way in which the West European capitalist 'prosperity' boom of the recent period has been based on intensified colonial exploitation:

> The developing countries are today caught in a vicious trap. The prices of their exports are declining steadily and have now reached a level below that of the worst period of the 1957-58 recession, and at the same time the level of the prices of their imports from the advanced countries continues to rise. Nigeria's losses in this way have far exceeded the aid she has received. When Nigeria has tried to halt her losses by diversifying her export products by industrialisation she encounters resistance.

According to the United Nations Bulletin of Statistics for June, 1962, between 1953 and the first quarter of 1962 (the period of the West European 'economic miracle'), the price of manufactures rose by 9 per cent, while the price of primary products fell by 8 per cent, of primary products from under-developed countries by 12 per cent, and of foodstuffs from under-developed countries by 22 per cent. 'To him that hath shall be given, and from him that hath not shall be taken that which he hath.' Such is the law of capitalism, equally within each country and on a world scale. And the beneficiaries, the plunderers, living on the loot in the rich imperialist countries, have the infinite gall to drip unctuous philanthropy about giving crumbs of 'aid' from their loot to the countries they are plundering. Lombard in the *Financial Times* of August 28 (see page 470) has estimated that over the five years to the end of 1961 Britain has drawn a 'bonus' of £600 million per annum, or £3,000 million in all, to rectify her balance of payments position at the expense of the primary producing countries. Such is the colonialist foundation of Tory economic 'recovery' and West European economic 'prosperity'. Joint organisation of neo-colonialism is the essential structure of the Common Market.

Speak for Britain—Speak for the World

The fight of the British people against the Common Market monopolist offensive is thus inseparably united with the fight of all the Commonwealth peoples, of the Australian, New Zealand and Canadian peoples, of the Indian and Asian peoples, of the African and West Indian peoples, and of all the Afro-Asian peoples, against the reactionary drive of ultra-imperialism. It is united with the fight of the socialist peoples to replace sectional trading and tariff blocs or bans on trade by a world trading agreement and international economic co-operation. How many readers in Britain are

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aware that the United Nations Economic and Social Council has already adopted the resolution, proposed by India, Brazil, Senegal, Ethiopia and Yugoslavia, and carried against all blocking attempts by the West European powers, to condemn the harmful effect of all 'closed groupings' on the economies of the under-developed countries, and calling for an international conference on trade and economic development, corresponding to the proposal originally made by the Soviet Union and socialist states last May? Or that a United Nations Preparatory Committee for this conference against closed trading blocs is due to begin work in 1963? Quaestor in his article in the current issue deals with this. But the well-trained British official press, which devotes dreary pages every day to monotonous repetition of all the threadbare pros and cons and statistical falsifications of the Common Market controversy, sees to it that the British public are kept ignorant of the bigger things which are happening in the large world and which vitally affect the controversy. On the basis of this suppression of the facts, they bleat about the supposed absence of any 'alternative' to the Common Market. The call to British Labour to speak for Britain and lead the fight against entry into the Common Market is no narrow isolationist call, but is at the same time the call to speak for the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world in the common fight against the narrow restrictionist bloc represented by the Common Market.

T.U.C. Lost Chance

The Trades Union Congress at Blackpool in September lost the chance to speak for the British people and lead the opposition to the Common Market. Two million votes were cast against entry. No votes were cast in favour. Jim Mortimer's brilliant opening speech, marshalling the arguments against entry, won the biggest ovation of the Congress, and undoubtedly reflected the true sentiments of the majority of delegates. Readers who were unable to hear his speech can still study with advantage his 'Case Against Entry' in the September issue of our journal, which was widely read by delegates. Supporters of the Common Market did not dare to put their case to a vote; for they knew that on a straight vote they would have been overwhelmingly defeated. Mr. Woodcock and the General Council majority, including some opponents of the Common Market like Mr. Cousins, deemed it wiser to pursue the stalling tactics of 'Wait and See' and 'Keep On the Fence'. How can we judge the terms, they

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argued, until we know them? Had they known that within two days of that vote Mr. Gaitskell was preparing to come out with his bombshell on behalf of Commonwealth Labour denouncing the terms as unacceptable and hinting at the possible necessity of a general election to fight the issue, it is conceivable that they might have been less well pleased to be thus left in the lurch to carry the can and be turned into a laughing stock in the rear. However, the trade unions can still redeem their fight by the stand they make to express the real sentiments of the majority of the membership against the Common Market at the Labour Party Conference.

Reorganisation—For What?

In place of giving leadership on the main issue today before the British working class and the entire British people, Mr. Woodcock was preoccupied with his vast schemes for a profound study on 'structure' and 'function' to give a 'new look' to British trade unionism. Certainly every trade unionist is only too bitterly aware how desperate is the need to overhaul the ageing structure of trade unionism as it has historically grown up in this country; to diminish the anomalies and divisions; to end the divorce between the workshop and the administrative structure; to extend democracy and remove reactionary bans; and to strengthen unity of action. But is this what the General Council majority has in mind? For generations the left in trade unionism has fought for these aims, achieving advances here and there, but in general meeting with a solid wall of opposition from the right wing dominant leadership to any reorganisation. It is ironic that now, after resisting such demands for all these decades, today when the requirements of the Common Market and the Tory Government and super-monopoly capitalism are proclaiming the orders for trade unionism to become streamlined in order to fit in, the same right wing leadership jump to attention with a 'Yes, Sir', 'Reorganise, Sir?', 'Certainly, Sir'.

'What Are We Here For?'

Assuming the air of an earnest searcher after truth, Mr. Woodcock poses the question to be studied: 'What are we here for?' Really. If a trade unionist does not know what trade unions are for he should not be General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress. Let us begin by suggesting what trade unions are not here for. They are not here for the benefit of the employers. They are not here for the benefit of a Tory Government—or a wage-cutting Labour

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Government. They are not here to impose wage restraint or to carry out the orders of Dr. Hallstein and the Common Market, or of Dr. Beeching and Lord Robens. The workers have built up the unions to protect and advance their interests by united strength and action against the employers and against capitalism. They have extended their aims to the political field, to end the rule of the capitalist class, to win possession of the land and industries of this country into the hands of the working class, to end capitalism. If Mr. Woodcock is in any doubt on this matter, let him study the Standing Orders of the General Council defining the Objects of the T.U.C. (reprinted in September *Labour Monthly*, p. 400). Let him study the objectives of the National Union of Mineworkers 'for the complete abolition of capitalism'. Let him study the glorious old Preamble of the Rules of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers:

> Trade Unionism has done excellent work in the past, and in it lies the hope of the Workers for the future: that is, the Trade Unionism which clearly recognises that today there are only two classes, the producing Working Class and the possessing Master Class. The interests of these two classes are opposed to each other. . . The Emancipation of the Working Class can only be brought about by the strenuous and united efforts of the Working Class itself.
>
> WORKERS, UNITE!

Reorganisation to strengthen trade union unity in action against capitalism: Yes. 'Reorganisation' to paralyse militant trade unionism and put over wage-restraint: Never.

Constitutional Dilemma

There is a special reason why it is so urgent that this year's Labour Party Conference should come off the fence on the main immediate issue before the country and lead the opposition of the British people to the Common Market. This is because there is no other constitutional way to express and make effective the undoubted will of the majority of the people on this vital matter affecting their whole lives and future and the existence and independence of the nation. It is of course contrary to constitutional practice in the democratic institutions of this country for the British people to have any say on the major decisions affecting their lives. They had no say over the first world war, the election preceding which was fought on the question of the House of Lords. They had no say over the Munich policy leading to the second world war, the election preceding which was fought on loyalty to the League of Nations.

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They had no say on the Korean War, or the planting of American atom bomber bases in Britain, or German rearmament and Nato, all pointing to a third world war, and all exactly contrary to the victorious platform of the preceding election in 1945. The only opportunity for the people to express their will on an issue (for the parliamentary representatives are of course bound by their party machines, and are only allowed what is called with refreshing candour a 'free vote' on very rare occasions when the issue is regarded as politically unimportant) comes if the issue arises and is recognised as a central issue of contention at the moment of a general election, or if the popular clamour is such as to compel a general election. This is what throws such a special responsibility at the present moment on Labour's leadership and on the Labour Conference to voice the popular will and lead the fight against the Common Market.

Time to Come Off the Fence

For even a general election is not alone enough to enable the popular will to be effectively voiced unless the issue is taken up as a central issue of contention by the main parties capable of forming a government. This is what has effectively prevented any expression of the will of the people on such a serious matter as German rearmament. The people of this country are not fools; they remember the war; they would have been overwhelmingly against German rearmament if the choice had been put to them. But the choice was never put to them, because it was treated as a 'non-party' issue agreed between the ruling parties. That is how the democratic machinery of this country functions. Supposing, for example, Premier Macmillan, desperate at the increasing difficulties in which he finds himself, were suddenly to call an election to demand a mandate for pursuing his negotiations for entering the Common Market, and supposing the Labour Party were still on the fence. What would be the position? The majority of the electorate, if the public opinion polls have informed us correctly, are against the Common Market. A general election is supposed to be the supreme once-in-five-years moment when 'the will of the people' prevails, the justification of the Western claim to represent government by the people. How are the electorate to express their majority will against the Common Market? Four parties offer themselves. The Conservative Party is for the Common Market. The Liberal Party is for the Common Market. The Labour Party is on the fence. The

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Communist Party is against the Common Market. The electorate majority view on the most vital question before the country could only be expressed by returning a Communist majority to parliament. But the Communists have not even candidates in more than a handful of seats. And the majority of the electorate is not yet Communist. This demonstrates the familiar truth that in the democratic machinery of this country an issue can only be 'decided' by the electorate (even then in a very cloudy fashion, mixed with a hundred other issues) if it is taken up as a main issue of contention by one of the two governmental parties. That is why it is so important for Labour now to come off the fence and lead the fight against the Common Market, if the majority will of the electorate on this most vital question for the future of Britain is to find democratic expression.

Speed the General Election

In practice all the present evidence indicates that Mr. Macmillan, so far from desiring a speedy election, which in the present nadir of Tory credit would be likely to prove fatal, is anxiously concerned to delay an election, possibly until well into 1964, in order to put through Britain's entry into the Common Market beforehand as a *fait accompli*, in accordance with the customary constitutional sharp practice, and then call an election to greet a supposed triumphant achievement. These are the anti-democratic sharp practice tactics contemplated to smuggle Britain into the Common Market against the will of the people. These are the tactics which it is now essential to defeat. Labour can defeat them by coming off the fence already at this Conference, taking a firm stand against the disastrous Tory Common Market policy, and by this challenge compelling a general election. This was the hint of possibly calling for a general election on the issue which was contained in Mr. Gaitskell's statement of September 8. And it was this hint which, despite its imprecise and hypothetical character, immediately aroused the fury of the Tory press and commentators, thus revealing their consciousness of their vulnerable point. The road to victory is open. The Tory plan to surrender Britain to become tied up in the reactionary Adenauer-de Gaulle bloc, at the price of ditching the Commonwealth peoples, is the culmination of their disastrous home record, the destruction of Britain's economy and basic industries and the offensive on the people's standards. Labour can force an election on the Common Market issue and bring Toryism down. It is true that the present

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official Labour programme for a future Labour Government still falls far short of the positive alternative policy which the country needs. That is why the fight of the Communist candidates in any prospective election and for Communist representation is so important in order to present such an alternative programme and make the pace for it. But the defeat of Toryism and its Common Market offensive would mean a victory of the British people in the fight for their independence to build their own future on new lines in co-operation with the peoples of the world.

September 15, 1962 R.P.D.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

TOM MANN, 'FROM SYNDICALISM TO COMMUNISM'

The world events of the last seven years have been illuminating in an exceptional sense. Never before had it been possible for world capitalism to make so abundantly clear its grovelling sordid outlook, and its utter incapacity to enable a people to live in a condition of universal well-being. Now it is to go, having served its turn. To hasten its departure is our privilege. Whatever occupation we fill it is for us to have constantly in mind the class character of the movement. As engineers we take action not to score against an employer, but to help in the international working-class movement, to hasten the day when our ideal shall prevail. We must get out of the ruts—the trade union ruts, the parliamentary ruts, the industrial ruts, the sectarian ruts—and take a full survey of the position. Learn from America, and equally or more so from Russia. Learn from the American land of freedom how readily the authorities shoot and kill those who try to get better conditions, as in the case of the steel workers, many of them with a twelve-hour work day, and seven such days in a week. Learn from South Africa, where the miners have recently been shot dead in considerable numbers, and ten thousand arrested, and now undergoing trial, some of whom have been sentenced to death. Learn from Italy where the reactionary Fascisti, encouraged by the Government, have killed many hundreds and burned their trade union buildings and destroyed the Communist offices. Teuton and Latin and Anglo-Saxon alike, capitalism at present dominates, but the day approaches when, like the Russians, we and others will be called upon to prove our mettle. May we be found tried and true.

(From *Labour Monthly*, October, 1922.)

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THE MARKET ALTERNATIVE

Quaestor

IT is now perfectly clear that the three pledges given by the Government to get parliamentary approval for its application to join the Common Market have not been fulfilled. The National Farmers' Union has rejected the terms for Britain's entry accepted so far by the Government in its negotiations with the Six. The neutral members of the European Free Trade Association—Sweden, Switzerland and Austria—have not been offered those 'fair' terms which the Government promised. And practically all the Commonwealth countries, at the London Conference in September, showed their distrust, fear or downright rejection of the ambiguous and dangerous phrases offered them in place of the guarantees which Macmillan promised.

In order to deepen the impression that there is and should be no way out for Britain but to enter the Common Market, the Tory and pro-Tory press began saying that there is no alternative. 'What could the Commonwealth give us in compensation' asked the *Daily Telegraph* editorial (September 10). 'It is hard to see exactly what would be Britain's future environment if she were outside the Six', said *The Times* leading article the same day. But this is as grossly misleading as all the rest of the arguments—and *The Times* itself tacitly admitted this, in a characteristic piece of understatement, in its leader on September 11:

> On the evidence so far, it is not yet proven that the communist bloc would deliberately try to sabotage an agreement which gave them what they regarded as reasonable access to western markets.

'On the evidence so far. . . .' Let us look at the evidence then—that evidence about which there is *plenty* of evidence, overwhelming in fact, that the capitalist press and politicians have deliberately prevented the British public from knowing anything about it.

In May of this year, as was noted in the July issue of *Labour Monthly*, the Soviet Union and the other Socialist States proposed to the Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva that it should promote an international conference on expansion of trade between *all* countries, without discrimination. The western powers rejected the proposal—and the British press kept quiet about it.

On May 30, at a Soviet-Mali friendship meeting in the Kremlin, Khrushchov took the question up again, after showing the dangers of the Common Market. He said:

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> The Soviet Government believes that the United Nations cannot remain aloof from this question, which is of vital importance for hundreds of millions of people. It considers desirable to convene an international conference on problems of trade, which would discuss the question of setting up an international trade organisation to embrace all regions and countries of the world without any discrimination. The calling of such a conference would undoubtedly be supported by many countries which are opposing the policy of building up closed economic groupings of the western powers.

And Khrushchov was right. Just over a week later, a 'Conference on the Economic Problems of Developing Countries' opened at Cairo. It had been called on the initiative of a group of neutral and uncommitted countries—the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, India, Indonesia, Ceylon and others. Thirty-four nations of Africa, Asia and Latin-America were represented, with Cyprus and Yugoslavia: the latter and Cuba were the only socialist countries present—not the Soviet Union, not People's China, not the other socialist countries of Europe and Asia. The Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations, its various Economic Commissions for different regions of the world, even the International Monetary Fund, were all represented by observers. It was what Transport House and the General Council love to call 'an official conference'. But could you read about its proceedings in any of the papers campaigning for the Common Market? Not on your life.

Why? Because most of the papers submitted denounced the disastrous effects of economic 'blocs' and trade discrimination, and many speeches exposed the threat of the Common Market to underdeveloped countries. Because the final resolution, *unanimously* adopted on June 18, declared wholeheartedly in favour of an international conference to promote trade (including trade in raw materials) between all countries without any discrimination. Because it attacked economic groupings using discriminatory methods. Because it declared that increased economic aid to developing countries was necessary on the basis of mutual benefit and respect, without any political and economic strings. And because the signatories agreed that they would take the same attitude at other international meetings—and that the resolution should be sent to the Acting Secretary-General of the United Nations with the request that it be put down on the agenda of the coming seventeenth General Assembly.

Here was a facer—but more was to follow. Before going further, however, one ought to point out the great importance of such a line-up of the countries which for centuries have had to depend only on

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their production of raw materials and provision of cheap labour to maintain the miserably low standard of living of the vast mass of their people. It was a dramatic reminder of the reality of the world-wide *colonial revolution* now far advanced. It was a message to the monopolies of finance-capital now dominating Great Britain, the United States and the European 'Six', that the recently liberated peoples will not put their heads in any neo-colonialist noose again. It was a great demonstration in practice that the policies of the Soviet Union and its socialist associates do in fact respond to the needs of the vast majority of mankind, in problems of economic development and relations just as they do on the linked problems of disarmament. And it was an encouraging call to the British people to remember that, in opposing entry into the iniquitous Common Market, they have allies—and they have an infinitely better path to follow.

That was why practically nothing was said about the Conference in the capitalist press.* And the same applies to the thirty-fourth session in Geneva of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. In this body sixty States-members of the U.N. were represented. It had on its agenda a resolution calling emphatically for an international conference on trade and economic development, brought forward by a group of States broadly representative of those present at Cairo—India, Brazil, Senegal, Ethiopia and Yugoslavia. The resolution recognised the harmful effects of 'closed groupings' on the economies of the under-developed countries, and if discriminatory trade barriers on world trade generally. Speaker after speaker from raw-material-producing countries showed how adverse 'terms of trade' imposed on them by the highly industrialised States would get worse by the operation of the Common Market.

Every possible device was used by the Western Powers to throw cold water on the proposal. In the first phase of the debate, while the Socialist and the under-developed countries were pressing the case for an international conference, Britain, France, Italy and the U.S.A. avoided mentioning it, evidently trying to cook up a common opposition. Then they went into action. Italy complained that the opening paragraphs of the draft resolution smacked of 'prejudice against the European Economic Community' because it spoke of 'obstacles and restrictions' hampering the under-developed countries. France not only supported Italy, but wanted to water down the

*An excellent survey, by a Cypriot journalist who was there, K. L. Tsioupras, appeared in *World News* of September 15, 1962.

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wording so as to avoid any obligation to hold the conference at all. But the richest demonstration was given by Miss Salt (Great Britain). In language long familiar to all trade unionists, she piled up cliché upon cliché. 'No simple solution was possible. . . . It requires a flexible approach. . . . Visible trade was only one aspect of economic relationships. . . . It hardly needed a conference to convince governments. . . . A new organisation could only retard action. . . . Problems should be identified as they arise. . . . Inquiries are most valuable when they are specific and local.'

But it was all to no avail. The majority against them was too large. Some slight verbal changes were made to save their face; the Italians withdrew their objection; the French amendment was heavily voted down; and the resolution to convene 'a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development' was carried unanimously. Experts must be appointed to a Preparatory Committee by November, and they are to meet by the early spring of 1963 to consider the agenda and documentation for the Conference, 'with particular reference to the problems of the developing countries'.

Here too was a great lesson. If Macmillan & Co. can be defeated over world trade versus the Common Market in an international conference by the combined forces of socialism and national liberation, why cannot the British people, led by the working class, defeat them on the same question at home?

The reservation, 'for the time being', is appropriate. No-one can doubt that slippery Macmillan, diamond-hard only in his defence of the moneybags of his class, has other tricks up his sleeve. As the president of the Economic and Social Council, Jerzy Michalowski (well known for his term as Polish Ambassador in London, some years ago) said in his closing speech, 'obviously all problems are not going to be solved overnight. None of us have any illusions about that'.

But while the international trade conference was not a panacea, 'a breakthrough could be made on some of the key issues of the day'. He appealed to all governments to 'give the deepest consideration *to their rôle in, and attitude towards the conference* during the coming weeks and months, so that we may strengthen the forces of world economic co-operation and bring the post-war trend to disintegration to a halt'.

The Soviet delegates at the Council had already moved for the inclusion in the conference agenda of three items—the setting up of

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an International Trade Organisation, the harmful effect of closed Western economic groupings on international trade, and the elimination of trade discrimination. If there were really any sincerity in Macmillan's talk of 'reconciliation in Europe', here would be his chance to promote it on an historic scale, in what Michalowski rightly called 'a great step forward in the promotion of the idea of co-existence and co-operation of all countries, and indeed all groups of countries'. And if expecting sincerity from our present Prime Minister is like expecting kindly consideration from a crocodile, it has been shown more than once that, if the labour movement really makes up its mind and acts together, it is strong enough to dispose of all the Tory menagerie. The Cairo and Geneva meetings have pointed the way.

GERMANY AND OURSELVES

Robert Willis

General Secretary, London Typographical Society.

YEAR after year at the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conferences the problem of Germany and Berlin is the subject of heated debate and once again the matter is before the two wings of the labour movement for discussion. Judging from the Trades Union Congress, no decision will be taken that will in any way contribute to a solution of the problem. But there is every danger that, as in the autumn of 23 years ago, the solution will be found by resort to war.

It is tragic that the younger generation of today born during the last world war, a war provoked by Hitler, may at this moment be observing the preliminaries which could result in them being plunged into a holocaust as were their fathers and their grandfathers before them. Because this question of German ambition, this hunger for territory, this pride of nation has plunged the world into war twice already and, if we are not careful, will do so a third time. At least should this occur there will be no further episode because any war of the future will be fought with nuclear weapons and there will be no sons left to face a similar dilemma in the years to come.

To many thinking young people it is obvious that the Tory Government has failed to take any lead which would end tension in Europe. But what alternative has come from the labour movement

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of this country? Last month at Blackpool a resolution before Congress deplored the fact that the United Kingdom Government had not taken the initiative in seeking negotiations, demanded that a conference of all Governments directly concerned should be called and that the German Democratic Republic should be recognised as a first step. This was rejected on the advice of the platform.

It would seem that Adenauer's Germany, that de Gaulle's France and that the alliance between these two old men is more important than taking steps which, whilst preserving the peace of the world, might offend the susceptibilities of the de Gaulles and the Adenauers. It is time that statesmen—and, also, the would-be statesmen, recognised that a divided Germany is a *fact* whether that fact be welcome or not and that the sooner there is recognition of this situation, the sooner will the tensions that exist be eased.

One expects the capitalist governments of the world to resent and to resist any revolutionary government that may be formed. We sent troops against the Soviet Union in the early days of the Russian Revolution: we hesitate about the recognition of the rights of Communist China: we are embarrassed by the situation in Cuba: we are not too certain about Yugoslavia and certain there can be no recognition of the German Democratic Republic. Yet recognition had to be accorded to Russia and to Yugoslavia, and, it is obvious, in the case of China very soon the government will have to have the full recognition to which it is entitled. Why, then, cannot that process be repeated elsewhere? In this case it is not just a question of the United States controlling the situation. The violent reaction of West Germany against any recognition of the German Democratic Republic; the attitude of de Gaulle who is against all negotiations with the Soviet Union is in itself an admission of the bankruptcy of policy amongst the chief Nato powers and the weakness of those who should be giving a lead in these difficult times.

We have to witness the spectacle on the one side of the guards of the German Democratic Republic shooting at those who climb over the wall into the Western Sector of Berlin. My own attitude would be to say that if they do not wish to stay in East Germany, why not let them go. They would be no good to the people of that country, unwilling subjects never are of very much use. On the other side, we have the tension being worked up, the uncontrolled provocations by young Germans, many of them showing fascist tendencies; and watching all this, in full battledress, United States troops who also make difficulties over the entry into the Western Sector of Soviet

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guards of honour to man the Memorial to the Red Army. A Red Army, it should be remembered, which made a tremendous contribution to the defeat of Hitler and the elimination of fascists from Europe. If it is argued that Russian troops, whether guards of honour or not, should not arrive in tanks with guns manned, the answer is that the West Berlin authorities should prevent the provocation, the stone throwing and the attacks which were made when those same soldiers came by more peaceful means in an ordinary bus.

At this moment, when the minds of most people are thinking in terms of co-existence and of closer working between nations, the main contribution of the British Government is to refuse entry into Britain of East German scientists, artists and sportsmen.

It is necessary that the labour movement should recognise these facts, should realise that a sense of frustration is growing in the electorate and should either provide a sane alternative to the mad policies of the Tories or lose the support of the electorate.

In this connection an interesting report* has been issued by a six-man delegation which recently visited East Germany from the National Union of Furniture Trade Operatives. The report of that delegation is well worth reading, as a contribution to friendship and a clearer understanding of East Germany and its problems. As explained to the delegation:

> on the downfall of Hitler, they had to start building their country with all the heavy industries in West Germany. The only people they had as leaders were those returning from exile and those coming out of the concentration camps. It was for this reason that we would find the majority of the positions of responsibility held by young people who they had educated during the short period of the existence of the G.D.R. This we subsequently found to be true.

They were impressed by what they saw:

> Carefully planned rebuilding of cities, industry running efficiently—above all eager, intelligent, educated young people in positions of authority. It is against this background that we say that we are satisfied that the East German Trade Union Movement has done and is doing a tremendous job.

Two memories they bring home, they say, are more meaningful than long political statements:

> The oft repeated phrase from old people 'A good life for our children' and 'Give us peace and come and see us again in three years'.

*Report of the G.E.C. Delegation to the Building and Woodworkers' Union of the German Democratic Republic, by A. J. Darvill, C. Hawkins, G. Ives, A. Johnson, E. Murfitt and J. R. Shanley.

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Unless trade unionists and socialists, particularly the young people, can meet and talk then the hope for a better understanding among the peoples of the world is doomed, the dangers of war increased.

I WENT THROUGH THE WALL

E. S. Winley-Greene

[Labour Monthly *received the following letter from Mr. E. S. Winley-Greene together with the accompanying article: 'I have just returned from holiday and feel so strongly about what I have heard and seen that I should like to reach a wider audience than I can by mere word of mouth'.*

'First of all you should know that as a schoolmaster and member of no political party I regarded myself as being very "middle of the road" and of perfectly open mind. Study of books and newspapers made me suspect that things were not altogether what they were made out to be. Therefore my wife and myself decided to go on a fact-finding holiday and see things for ourselves. The result was vastly different from what we had been led to believe. We stayed in Hanover, Berlin, Warsaw, Poznan, Minsk and Moscow. It was whilst in Moscow that I bought a copy of Labour Monthly *and decided that I would get in touch with you when I returned home.'—Ed.*, L.M.]

I HAVE been to Berlin.

I went in a holiday spirit.

I came home in a shocked and sober frame of mind because, with my own eyes, I had seen a multi-million dollar-pound monument to demonstrate the fact that men appear to be totally incapable of building a stable and peaceful future by learning from the lessons of the past.

In 1939, for the third time in living memory, the German militarists engulfed Europe in a holocaust of horror and ruin impossible for man adequately to describe.

In 1945 Germany lost the war which she herself had begun. Let there be no mistake about that. Germany was, both militarily and economically, utterly and decisively beaten by land, sea and air. This was brought about by Britain who, staring defeat full in the

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face, had nothing left with which to fight but a glorious inability to acknowledge or even to recognise the spectre which chattered before her very eyes. It was brought about by the material wealth of the United States of America flowing into Europe on a production line which seemed to have no end. And lastly, lest we forget as so many appear now to have done, it was made possible by the imperishable bravery of the Russian people. They, too, refused to give in as the nazi dragon blasted her cities into rubbish heaps and soaked the fertile soil of her homeland with the blood of millions of her dead.

Came 1945, and the Allies—now including France—stood four-square together and vowed solemnly that never again would an armed Germany be allowed to endanger civilised people either by the guns of war or the gas chambers of the concentration camps. To make this task easier, Germany was divided into four zones of occupation by America, France, Great Britain and Russia. With a pitiful faith in man's common sense, the great city of Berlin, situated a hundred miles inside the Russian Zone, was also put under Four Power Administration. Germany thus disarmed seemed to make the foundations of European peace at last secure.

Only seventeen years later, the whole noble plan lies in a pathetic ruin. A new generation has forgotten the past and the mocking laughter of the German people must be music in the ears of Hitler's gibbering ghost. We have allowed and assisted Hitler in death to accomplish what he failed to do in life. Over and over again during the war years did we hear the detestable 'Lord Haw-Haw' pleading with Britain and America to unite with Germany against Russia. What a ridiculous idiot we thought him to be. We hanged him for it! Now, go to Germany and see for yourself the proof of Hitler's victory. You will find it, as I did, terrifying in its reality. British, French and American zones have been united to form the German Federal Republic which, although expecting and demanding universal recognition of itself, refuses to acknowledge the German Democratic Republic brought into existence by Russia at a later date. Western Germany has now become a military training ground. I have seen on manœuvres British, French, Italian, American and German troops. It is a gigantic armed camp in which even mountain peaks have been removed and replaced by giant American rockets (I.C.B.M.s) clawing menacingly at the skyline. I ask you. Who is this polyglot army being trained to fight? The answer to this question is enough to make you weep.

As we passed out into Eastern Germany we found it to be as our

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right-wing press has told us so often. East Germany is a more drab and less prosperous place than the West. There are still bomb-shattered buildings to be demolished. There is still vast rebuilding to be done. We were told in Britain that this was a revealing indication of the misery and poverty of the Soviet system. Nothing could be further from the truth. If you want to see what the Soviet system has got to give then go to Russia. By all the rules of common sense you should not expect to find wealth, pleasure and gaiety inside the frontiers of a defeated and convicted aggressor.

In East Germany, the Germans know that they lost the war which they started. Here the treasure of the West has not been poured out in order to recreate the monster which it took the civilised world six years to destroy. How much more realistic is this Russian attitude towards the problem of the re-education of the German people in the interests of world peace. In the East, the Germans are earning their own salvation—and they will be the better for it.

In this direction, it is only fair to give a measure of praise to the people of the German Democratic Republic and their leaders who have worked hard to rebuild their country on secure foundations of socialism. This has been no easy task when it is remembered that Eastern Germany is a large and sparsely populated agricultural area whose only big cities are Leipzig and Dresden. By far the greater part of German man-power and almost all its industrial potential lie in the West. And the West, far from being satisfied at this unequal division in her favour, seeks by every means to entice to herself the workers of which the German Democratic Republic has such urgent need. Compare then the agricultural East with the rich and highly industrialised West and in particular West Berlin with its masses of neon lights, lush prosperity and vulgar display of wealth of every kind including every sort of clip-joint, strip-tease and night club. I quote a printed pamphlet. Listen to this:

> Visit the Resi, a place of technical wonders, a pearl in the heart of the city. Here 100,000 contacts guarantee the proper functioning of 250 table-phones. There is the unique table telegraph system. 65,000 metres of cable were installed and 100,000 constantly changing coloured lamps require an output of 350,000 watts.

If any girl takes your fancy at another table, you can either telephone her or send a telegram. Is this the way to educate the people who created Belsen and Auschwitz? This is how West Germany seeks to woo the man-power of the East, and West Berlin is a shop window built in the heart of the Russian Zone.

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No wonder that Russia closed the East-West German Border when in the interests of western capitalism we are teaching the most dangerous military animal in the world to forget the fact that he was beaten in the field and will inevitably suffer the same fate again at the hands of armed and peace-loving people. No wonder the Berlin wall had to be built. To the people of West Berlin it is a stark reminder of reality. It is the one and only thing that tells the younger generation that they lost the war. And how they hate anything which calls attention to that! At the other side of the wall are the symbols of the victor. Barbed wire and trenches should be a stern reminder of Dachau and the Warsaw Ghetto. Ruins still awaiting their own efforts at reconstruction should keep their wilful devastation and rape of Coventry and Minsk still before their unrepentent eyes. Little wonder that hundreds of thousands of East Germans were leaving the austerity of the East—which they so richly deserved—in order to enjoy the luxury living and easy money of the West. With extraordinary patience, the Russians put up with this drain on East German man-power for a long time until it seemed as if the time was approaching when it would be necessary to bring workers from Russia to maintain Germany. Such a position would have been utterly nonsensical when Russia needed every available pair of hands to rebuild her own homeland—ravaged by the nazis. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that any shooting on this frontier is being done by Germans. There are only two Soviet soldiers in evidence at any check point. These are smartly dressed and are obviously employed in a supervisory capacity.

One last word. What an insult to the British and American mentality is the placing of barbed wire around the Soviet War Memorial in West Berlin. How inept and powerless before a new and armed Germania is our acquiescence to such treatment of the ally by whose bravery and terrible sacrifice we were enabled to gain time for the rebuilding of our own shattered armies and thus bring the war to an earlier conclusion.

A nation as sensible as the English, will see that a spirit of concord, when they are oppressed, means a tame submission to injury, and that a spirit of liberty ought then to arise, and I am sure ever will, in proportion to the weight of the grievance they feel.

John Wilkes, writing in the *North Briton*, 1763.

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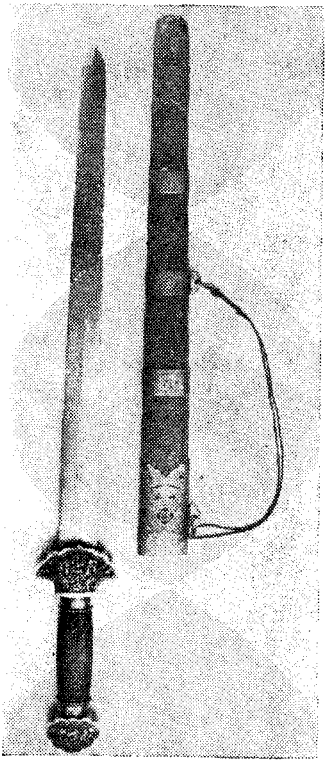
A Hero's Sword



The Faithful King's sword

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ɛturned to China

Ninety-eight years ago the Taiping Revolution (1851-1864) was defeated by British and other mercenaries under General Gordon. Their famous leader, Chung Wang ('The Faithful King') Li Hsiu-ch'eng, was captured on July 18 after the fall of Nanking and executed. His ceremonial sword which had been presented to him by the Taiping ruler, was taken back to Britain and later presented by General Gordon to a member of the Royal Family.

Gordon wrote a 'Note on Chung Wang's or *The Faithful King's sword' which he said 'signi*fied to the Taipings that he, Chung Wang, was authorised to execute summary justice on any person whatever in the Taiping State without reference to the Emperor'. Gordon writes. 'He was the bravest most talented and enterprising leader the Rebels had. He had been in more engagements than any other Rebel leader and could always be distinguished. His presence with the Taipings was equal to a reinforcement of 5,000 men and was always felt by the superior way they resisted'.

He came from a poor peasant's family. He had courage, loyalty and nobility of character, and a military genius which makes him one of the greatest peasant revolutionary leaders in world history.

Following up a clue in a book about Gordon's campaigns, C. A. Curwen, member of the National Committee of the Britain-China Friendship Association, tracked down the sword. It is 34 inches in length. The sheath is made of a special kind of bamboo, with silver gilt mountings. Three small Chinese characters 'Li Hsiu-ch'eng' are inscribed on the blade.

Mr. Curwen has returned it to China.

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WE BROTHERS IN JAIL

[*Zanzibar, with a population of* 300,000, *is a British protectorate off the coast of East Africa. The Zanzibar Nationalist Party, a broad alliance, united in the demand for national independence, holds ministerial posts under the present limited constitution. The colonial authorities imposed a state of emergency, sentenced Abdul Rahman Mohammed ('Babu'), the Z.N.P. general secretary, to* 15 *months for publishing 'seditious material', and imprisoned without charge or trial some fourteen of the most militant Z.N.P. and trade union leaders. They include the author of this poem now translated from Swahili written in prison in May.—Ed.*, L.M.]

We brothers in jail, our fears are stilled
No time for pity, time is short,
For freedom's cause, the dawn is here,
The strength of all is our support,
  We brothers in jail.

The imperialist's snare has trapped us,
To him we are but toys,
But destiny will meet him,
He hears its fateful voice.
  We brothers in jail.

We are steadfast in our cells,
Our captor thinks us dead,
The rites of burial remain,
To weaken you with dread.
  We brothers in jail.

We would bid 'Farewell' if need be,
For us do not entreat,
Let him hang us all,
We would never retreat.
  We brothers in jail.

Sleepers awake, the day has dawned,
Give up your hard-earned ease,
Give up your market chatter,
Let not your efforts cease.
  We brothers in jail.

The imperialist ensnares us,
In this his true light shows,
He knows that we are guiltless,
Our brothers, know your foes!
  We brothers in jail.

JAWADI IBRAHIM.

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FASCISM SHALL NOT PASS

D. N. Pritt, Q.C.

FASCISTS are increasing their public activities, plainly believing that this period of insecurity, international tension, and public dissatisfaction with both the main political parties offers them a chance to gain support for their abominable doctrines; and they have been met by splendid and vigorous counter-action from wide ranges of the population. Public protests have taken the form of demands for legislation to make the advocacy of race hatred specifically criminal, and for Government action to ban fascist meetings and processions. The Government has responded with a series of evasions and excuses, but it has already been forced to take a certain amount of action.

It is the plain duty of the Government to stop fascism now, and public opinion can force it to do so; but the danger is always present that it will try to exploit the position to provide itself with new weapons against the progressive forces. Thus, any study of the situation must begin with a study of the true nature and character of the government.

Responsibility rests with the Government as a whole; but direct responsibility, and the main determination of policy, lie with the Home Office. That department is a pretty grim body; it competes with one or two other departments for the title of the most reactionary of all the limbs of the establishment, and must accordingly be watched with even more vigilance than we normally apply to the Government.

Thus, we have to consider primarily the Home Office. Long experience of that body, in its dealings with fascism, and in efforts to make it deal with fascism and other evils, has taught me three lessons.

The first is that Tory governments, and the Tories who make and unmake and carry on governments, and above all the Home Office, are not anti-fascist. When one thinks over their make-up, and over the nature of fascism, it would be odd if they were! They are above all capitalist-minded, and fascism is only capitalism in desperation and high fever. When the rulers of Germany in the 'twenties and 'thirties concluded that they could no longer prevent the country going socialist, and maintain their own power, unless they forcibly destroyed the left-wing parties, the trade unions, and such civil

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liberty and parliamentary democracy as existed, the only reason why the capitalist forces in Britain did not do the same was that they did not need to do so. They could manage without such steps; their economy was not quite so bad as the German, they were much more skilled in ironing out trouble and in conciliating the workers, the Communist party was not so strong, and they thought that they could hold on without resorting to fascism. (And they were right.) But that did not mean that fascism was uncongenial to them; they found it quite natural to favour it, even after the Second World War began, and their first piece of 'war' propaganda was a book in praise of Italian fascism. It was only when public indignation turned out Neville Chamberlain, and replaced him by Winston Churchill, who —whatever he had said in favour of fascism before—had nothing but hostility for anyone who attempted to conquer his country by force of arms, that our rulers were ready to pretend to be anti-fascist. After the war, they pretty quickly showed their true nature again; for example, they were eager enough to release the arch-armourer of nazism, Krupp, from prison, to put him back in control of his vast war empire, and to restore his colossal personal wealth. It must not be thought that the dreary thugs to be found in one or other of the fascist parties in this country, trying to recruit the youth for their foul doctrines, are no more than thugs; they are people who want to build up here a fascist régime like other fascist régimes. It follows from all this that the first inclination of the Home Office—today as in the 'thirties and late 'forties—is to protect the fascists, not to clamp down on them, and that only public opinion will force it to act against its inclination. When various prosecutions that are pending or under appeal at the time of writing are concluded, so that comment can be made not just on those proceedings themselves but on government actions and inaction in connection with recent activities, we shall, I expect, see that the conduct of the government in recent weeks has been much as expected, viz.: reluctance to act, overcome by the pressure of public opinion.

The second lesson is that, both in relation to fascism and generally, one cannot accept as accurate or sincere or reliable any Home Office statement, whether of law, fact, or opinion, or any advice or promise that it may offer; the Home Office has to be watched more closely than any other department, and to be watched more closely in connection with fascism than in any other field.

The third lesson is that, as and when we force the Government to act against fascism, it will be scheming all the time to try out the

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weapons, old and new, which we force it to apply to the fascists, for use against the Left.

Later in this article I shall give some account of the way in which the Home Office dealt or failed to deal with fascism in the late 'forties, and of the legal weapons available for dealing with it. For the moment, I draw from my three 'lessons' the conclusion that in dealing with present developments we must rely even more than usual on our own strength, that is, on the strength of mass public opinion, which we must both stimulate and educate. Here, the omens are good; a fine start has been made, and we have seen various activities which recall the great days of 1936, when the slogan of the Spanish struggle, 'They shall not pass', was applied in the East End of London, where the fascists decided to stage a provocative march through the Jewish quarter to the West End, the Home Office decided to protect this outrageous activity with all the police it could muster, and the people decided that the march should *not* take place. And it did not. (But it is not satisfactory in the long run that evil things like fascism should have to be dealt with by extra-legal methods because the Government will not do its duty; this is one of the arguments in favour of legislation.)

That is the position; that is what fascism is; that is what the Government is. But there are genuine doubts and arguments affecting ordinary decent people as to the desirability of legislation against race hatred, and as to other remedies; and the Government builds on these doubts and arguments in order to avoid having to take vigorous action against fascism.

The first and most important of these arguments is that legislation against race hatred would offend against freedom of speech, which most of us value, and many of us think that we possess. That the Home Office should come out as a champion of free speech is amusing, and I repeat the warning that nothing it advances should be accepted. But the argument must be answered; it is moreover superficially attractive: 'Let everyone express his views; they may be right, and if they are wrong free discussion will show it, and that will be the end of them'. Even if nowadays few people and fewer governments act on that principle, and the developments of modern propaganda—with the press, the radio, television, and other forms of publicity overwhelmingly controlled by the 'establishment-minded' —gravely handicap the work of proving that views pleasing to the establishment are wrong, the appeal still has its strength. There are two answers. The first is that there have always been limits, even

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in the most tolerant communities and in the most profound peace, to what can be freely said; most of us, for example, would not give freedom of speech to fascists, who have spent over three decades proving by demonstration in a dozen countries that the only use they make of such freedom is to destroy freedom of speech—and a good many other freedoms—for all who disagree with them. The second, and more important, is that the question whether fascists should be allowed to continue their incitements is not really a question of freedom of speech at all. It is not everything said or written that falls within freedom of speech. To give a trivial illustration, no-one would invoke John Stuart Mill when the police stop a drunken man pouring out a stream of obscene abuse in public; and, to give a more serious one, demands that all Jews should be exterminated—sometimes expressed in so many words and sometimes put as 'Hitler was right'—or that people with dark skins should be driven out of the country, are not exercises of freedom of speech at all. No-one has ever defended on the basis of freedom of speech the right to call for the murder, wholesale or retail, of Jews, or of fascists, or of rich testators. If it be said that incitement to murder is a crime, and for that reason not covered by freedom of speech, the answer is twofold, firstly that if incitement to race hatred is not a crime it is high time that it was made one, and secondly that most speeches at fascist meetings are in fact criminal, as being either seditious, or criminally libellous, or part of a conspiracy, or 'threatening abusive or insulting words or behaviour . . . whereby a breach of the peace is likely to be occasioned'.

The next two arguments that have to be answered, if looked at side by side, seem to contradict each other. The first is that it is quite unnecessary to legislate specifically against race hatred, because the existing law is sufficient to deal with it under one head or another. And the second is that the Government is almost powerless to put a stop to fascist activities, and in particular to stop meetings, because the law does not enable this to be done.

The answer to the first of these arguments is that it is perfectly practicable to legislate against race hatred; draft Acts, one of them prepared by myself and other Labour lawyers nearly twenty years ago, are in existence; and such legislation would fill a real gap in our law. There is some truth in the statement that there are laws, with which I will deal below, that could be used by the Government if it really wanted to put down fascism; but they are not clear or satisfactory, and in practice they are difficult to apply: if legislation

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directly banning the advocacy of race hatred were added to the armoury it would be both easier to deal with race hatred and more difficult for the Home Office to find excuses for inaction such as that so often heard: 'We would like to take proceedings in this case, but our lawyers tell us that there is not a clear case, or a reasonable certainty of conviction; the law is not simple'. There will be other advantages too, in such legislation; for example, if it becomes unlawful to preach race hatred, everyone arranging a meeting for such a purpose will be clearly guilty of conspiracy.

The answer to the second argument is that the Government has never had the least hesitation, nor much difficulty, in stopping Left-wing meetings when it has wanted to do so, without going through the process—used almost solely for fascist meetings and demonstrations, both now and in the 'thirties and late 'forties—of providing powerful forces of police to protect the operation, and not closing it down unless and until the position becomes really uncontrollable.

One other argument is that one should ignore the fascists, leaving them alone, so that the movement will—it is suggested—die of inanition and lack of publicity. This argument, never applied to murderers, burglars, or forgers, is dangerous nonsense; it was advanced in Germany, ostensibly as a means of putting an end to Hitler, and was in fact a great help to him in the early days. It must not be accepted here.

The last argument I have to consider is that it would be dangerous to give the Government more powers to deal with fascism because it might use the new powers against left-wing organisations. This argument is advanced from more than one side, and deserves careful consideration. It is of course irrelevant as a ground for not legislating against race hatred, since no-one pretends that the Left wing is guilty of that; but in relation to demands for the extension of powers of the sort given by the Public Order Act, 1936, to control or ban processions, and otherwise to prevent public disorder, there is a good deal of truth in it, and caution is called for. (This is illustrated by the account I shall give later of the use of the Public Order Act against the Left wing in the late 'forties.) The best practical solution to this problem is to concentrate on legislation against the preaching of race hatred, and to resist legislation that would make it easier to ban meetings not specifically fascist. The demand for legislation against race hatred will have the maximum of public support, and if it be passed it will—as I have said—strengthen the hands of an

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executive ready to act sincerely against fascism, and make it more difficult to avoid action.

A vivid illustration was given in August, 1962, of the way in which some fascist meetings can be stopped—and equally anti-fascist meetings can be stopped—when the Minister of Public Buildings and Works, in co-operation with the Home Office, seemed at first sight to be yielding to popular pressure to stop fascist meetings. In his capacity as the Minister in charge of the traditional meeting place, Trafalgar Square, he refused permission for three fascist meetings to be held there, on the ground of inconvenience to the public 'at a time of year when there are likely to be numbers of holiday-makers and other visitors in the square'. (He thus forgot all the previous government hypocrisies about freedom of speech, in the name of which it had protected fascist processions and meetings with thousands of police, and elevated 'tourism' to a much higher priority!) To show how easy it was to use the same power against non-fascists or anti-fascists, the Minister announced that he proposed to follow the same policy for the time being in dealing with any other applications for the use of the square which 'seem likely to cause grave inconvenience to the public'; and within a few days he refused permission to the 'Yellow Star' anti-fascist movement to meet in the Square to protest against fascism: 'The law, in its majestic impartiality, refuses the criminals and their victims alike the right to address the public'.

I come now to my two tasks of showing how the Home Office, through the police, behaved in the 'forties to fascists and to anti-fascists, and of examining the weapons which the existing law provides for stopping meetings and other political activities.

Government behaviour in the 'forties should be studied mainly with a view to compelling it to apply similar sternness to the fascists today as it applied to anti-fascists them. We must always remember that to get proper action from a government which secretly favours fascists not only requires laws adequate to cover the situation, but also a genuine readiness—which can be created and maintained only by incessant public pressure—to enforce those laws resolutely, and for that purpose to make sure that the necessary evidence is obtained, and that the police give up the habit, clearly proved to exist in the 'forties, and doubtless inspired by the Home Office, of failing to hear and take down the more obviously criminal remarks of fascist speakers, and even failing to see obvious acts of violence on their part.

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I had exceptional opportunities, as a Member of Parliament and an active member of the executive of the National Council of Civil Liberties, of learning about all these activities, and I saw how easy it was for the Government to hit the Left, and to tolerate and cover the fascists.

I will deal first with a series of fascist meetings held at that time in and around South Kensington, where my information came partly from members of a very good local Labour Party, partly from observers appointed by the Council of Civil Liberties, and partly by 'reading between the lies' of the explanations and defences offered to me by Ministers and police officials.

At these fascist meetings, it became a matter of regular police practice to stop hecklers from asking any questions, to take their names and addresses, and to hand these *to the chairman of the fascist meeting,* something which at that period created a very real risk of the hecklers being subsequently beaten up by fascists, and in practice deterred all but the bravest of the audience from heckling at all and thus created the impression of an orderly meeting favouring the fascist point of view. When asked why they were acting in this way, the police replied that, as they found it difficult to decide whether any particular interruption constituted an offence or not, they had made it a settled practice to take the names and addresses of all persons pointed out by the chairman—and this, if you please, although the Public Order Act clearly gave them no right to take names or addresses unless they 'reasonably suspected (the persons in question) of acting in a disorderly manner for the purpose of preventing the transaction of the business for which the meeting was called together', and in no case gave them any right to give the names and addresses to the chairman.

I raised the matter by a parliamentary Question, and received the astonishing answer (on July 10, 1947) that 'the instructions given to the Metropolitan Police . . . *which are based upon, and fully in accordance with, the words used in the Act,* provide that a name and address declared to a constable under the Act may be given to the chairman in a case in which the police do not intend to institute proceedings'. To that one could only reply that the words in italic above were totally untrue. This led to much controversy—too long to be dealt with here—in which the explanations given by the Home Office became more and more confused; but it mended its ways just a little.

Another unsatisfactory feature was that, at these same meetings,

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in cases where observers from the Council of Civil Liberties and other responsible persons—often to the number of four or five at a time—reported to me obviously criminal statements by fascist speakers, which would have led to arrests on the spot if anyone else had made them, the police were always ready with their shorthand-writers, who had attended the meetings and purported to take down what the speakers were saying, and had always failed to record the damning words which three or four or five other persons had heard.

Throughout the same period, the police were using their powers, pretty effective in practice whatever theory may provide, to prevent non-fascist and anti-fascist meetings being held—generally on the ground that they obstructed the traffic—whilst letting fascist meetings continue; and the government grew so blasé and casual about it that when on one occasion the police bodily removed a perfectly orderly communist meeting for the express purpose of installing a fascist meeting in its place, all I could get out of the Home Secretary was an apology; the police, he said unctuously, should not have done it!

The more widely known series of fascist meetings in Ridley Road, in the heart of the Jewish quarter of Hackney, were in some ways more serious; they were on a larger scale, and went on for many months; they followed the Kensington pattern of police protection which rose at one meeting to a peak of 300 foot-constables and a number of mounted police and senior officers, and of failure to record provocative and criminal statements which would normally have led to instant arrest.

Now for the other side of the picture—a few examples of the way in which the Government found it possible to stop Left wing meetings and other activities when it wanted to do so, with no nonsense about the law being insufficient. I begin with the 'Communist Trial' of 1925. In the autumn of that year, the Government was alarmed at the prospect of a General Strike over the wages of coalminers. Finding that it had no machinery ready for supplying London with food and other necessaries if the strike should begin, it in effect bought six months' respite by subsidising the coal trade to enable the miserable wages of the miners to continue at the prevailing rates instead of being actually reduced. It devoted the six months to preparing to counter the strike, and as part of its preparations it thought it would be useful to try to immobilise the Communist Party. So, at a period of complete outward peace, in October, 1925, it suddenly descended on the Communist Party and the Young

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Communist League. These two bodies had been conducting ordinary political propaganda for some years, with practically no direct interference from the Government, and not much more from the fascists; and there had been no suggestion that their propaganda was illegal. But twelve prominent Communists were arrested and prosecuted at the Central Criminal Court on three charges, all said to cover the period from January 1, 1924, to October 21, 1925 (thus involving the proposition that the Government had been sitting idly watching a series of crimes for nearly two years). In the police court and at the trial itself, the speeches for the prosecution were based on the proposition—novel in this country—that communism was wholly illegal; indeed, if one allows for British modesty in the use of words, the prosecution behaved in the way we have been busy condemning in America under the Smith and McCarran Acts. The accused were 'duly' convicted and sent to prison for periods which would keep them away while the General Strike was dealt with; and when the Strike was over the nonsense about communism being illegal was quietly dropped (until such time as the Government may feel disposed to raise it again).

Seven years later, another matter inconvenient to the Government was dealt with by invoking against Tom Mann and another leader the statute of 1360. This is an Act which creates no criminal offence, but may nevertheless lead to imprisonment. The actual text is incomprehensible, but legal decisions have established that under it anyone, even if he is not even alleged to have committed a crime, may be ordered by magistrates to give security for his good behaviour, or in default of doing so may be sent to prison, on the ground that it is suspected that he *may be* going to commit a breach of the peace; and this may be done without the need to establish any apprehension of violence, or of anyone being put in 'bodily fear'. In December, 1932, a number of 'hunger marchers' were on their way to London to protest against the starvation conditions under which hundreds of thousands of industrial workers and their families were living in that time of mass unemployment; they desired to send a deputation to the Prime Minister on December 19 to present a petition, and also to express their views to the House of Commons. It might be thought that there was nothing very terrible or criminal in that; but on December 16, Mann and another were arrested (yes, arrested) and brought before a magistrate as

> disturbers of the peace and inciters of persons to take part in mass demonstrations which are calculated to involve . . . contraventions of the

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provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act, 1817, and as such are subject to the provisions of the Statute of 1360.

(The Act of 1817 prohibits the calling or holding of any meeting of more than fifty persons within one mile of Westminster Hall 'for the purpose of or on the pretext of considering of or preparing any petition . . . to . . . either House of Parliament for alteration of matters in Church or State'.)

The evidence was very thin indeed; it amounted to about one-fiftieth of what could be invoked against various leading fascists at the present time; but both the accused were ordered to give substantial bail to 'keep the peace and be of good behaviour' for twelve months, and in default to go to prison for two months. And off they went to prison, without having been convicted of any crime, and without even being accused of one. The reasoning under which this may be done may be seen from the magistrate's remarks:

There was a mass meeting announced and arranged for Monday (the 19th) which was to present a petition to the Houses of Parliament. In my view there would be a massed mob within the vicinity of the House of Commons. There is nothing to prevent anyone presenting a petition to the House of Commons at any time, but it is most undesirable that such a petition should be presented by an organised mass of people marching on the House of Commons. It is common knowledge that this mass of people are meeting on Monday to make this demonstration under exactly the same conditions as the meeting in October, when there was grave disorder. I do not say that the present defendants were responsible for that; but it shows what such meetings are likely to produce and against which I as a magistrate have sworn to preserve the peace.

Another curious development was that in two successive years, when May was approaching, Mosley announced his intention of holding a May Day march, and the Home Secretary immediately gave his consent under the Public Order Act (sect. 3(4)) to the Commissioner of Metropolitan Police prohibiting all marches during the relevant period. Thus, in effect, the power of veto on Labour May Day marches was given to the fascists, and—as I told a May Day meeting in Trafalgar Square (*meetings* being still lawful, so long as one did not march to them)—May Day marches were prohibited in only two capitals of Europe, Madrid and London.

Turning to examine the weapons which are available to the Government to deal with fascism, one finds a large variety of them, many of which are unsatisfactory for one reason or another, especially in their availability against legitimate activity. But we must understand them for they are in existence, and governments have never hesitated to use them (except against fascists).

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The major weapons are the laws against sedition, conspiracy, and unlawful assembly. Sedition is a common-law offence, not crystallised in an Act of Parliament; it has to be worked out from decided cases. In essence, it consists of words written or spoken, and published, with a seditious intention. There are about five classes of 'seditious intention', one of which is an intention to raise discontent or dissatisfaction among Her Majesty's subjects, and another is to promote feelings of ill-will and hostility between different classes.

Conspiracy—again a common-law offence—is any agreement of two or more persons to do something contrary to law *or* harmful towards another person, or to use unlawful means in carrying out an object not in itself unlawful. It will be seen how legislation against incitement to race hatred would help the law of conspiracy; it would mean that any agreement to hold a meeting where race hatred would be advocated—and the decided cases show that the most informal of talks can be construed as a conspiracy—would clearly be a conspiracy to commit a crime.

An unlawful assembly is any assembly of three or more persons intending either to commit a crime by open force *or* to carry out a common purpose, even a perfectly lawful one, in such a manner as to give to firm and courageous persons in the neighbourhood reasonable ground to anticipate a breach of the peace. It is easy to see that many fascist activities, above all those staged where Jewish or coloured persons live, would constitute unlawful assemblies.

Minor weapons of the law are the statutes prohibiting 'insulting words or behaviour whereby a breach of the peace is likely to be occasioned', obstruction of the police in the exercise of their duty, and assault, all of which are likely to be committed, and even more likely to be alleged by the police to have been committed, at public meetings or demonstrations.

The last weapon I need mention is the very unsatisfactory statute of 1360, which I have discussed above; it is still law, and can be invoked against anyone; it has recently been invoked *by* fascists!

What conclusions must we draw? Firstly, do not trust the Home Office, or the Government. Next, recognise your own strength, the strength of public opinion, and use it to force the Government to legislate against the advocacy of race hatred, and to enforce that legislation and the law generally against the fascists. Next, use your strength to see that the Government does not seize the opportunity to strengthen its hands against the freedom of real speech of all of us, and our freedom to conduct legitimate propaganda.

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DOCUMENT OF THE MONTH

A Five Year Squeeze of £3,000 millions of Super Profit from the Raw Material Countries

UNDER the heading 'if this Good Fairy takes a Rest' Lombard in the *Financial Times* of August 28, gives an estimate of how 'the improvement in its terms of trade' has enabled the U.K. to keep 'its external payments head above water' in recent years — 'how much more serious sterling's plight would have been without the collaboration of this Good Fairy. . .' Lombard shows how in 1957 'when import prices began to slide . . . with export prices moving up sharply . . . by the close of the 1950s, indeed, the average British export was purchasing about 10 per cent more of the average British import than it had been three years before. . . . On the basis of an annual trade flow of some £3,500 million in each direction, this was equivalent to being awarded a current account payments "bonus" of the order of £300 million to £350 million a year. . . . There can be no doubt that the timely arrival of this windfall played a major part in the recovery of the country's payments position in the late 1950s—a far larger part, we can be sure, than the tight money programme which the authorities launched in 1957, and which was subsequently wrongly awarded most of the credit. . .'

'At the moment the country's import prices are about 3 per cent lower than they were at the beginning of the 1960s, whereas export prices are about 4 per cent higher. In other words, over these two and a half years the terms of trade have recorded a movement in Britain's favour of the order of 7 per cent, a rate of improvement that is only a little slower than that seen in the three preceding years. Its effect has been to confer on the United Kingdom another large current account payments bonus—this time one of the order of £275 million per annum, trade exchanges having in the meantime moved up to the level of about £4,000 million a year in each direction'.

'. . . Taking the period from the end of 1956 as a whole, the change in the relationship of export prices to import prices has seemingly contributed something like £600 million per annum to the strengthening of the U.K.'s payments position. . .'

'It has to be recognised that, because what has been meat to Britain has been poison to some of her principal overseas customers, there has been a set-off to this imposing bonus in the shape of increased difficulty in selling British goods abroad. . .'

'It hardly need be said that should this good fortune come to an end, the U.K. is going to have to make some pretty big efforts to preserve the stability of the £. They will clearly have to be even more strenuous ones if the Good Fairy should come to the conclusion that it is time that the primary producers got a bit of a lift on the terms of trade front. . .'

Lombard's estimate, it is to be noted, takes one only up to the end of 1961. The extra super profit, made since then in this way, has assuredly brought the total up to almost £3,500 millions to date (September, 1962).

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Problems of Trade Unionism in the 'Sixties

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

J. Gardner

THE Labour Party Conference has the opportunity to get off the fence and to express the people's real aspirations, which the Trades Union Congress failed to do: to declare against any cold war political set-up, for disarmament and for such an extension of public ownership as will provide a basis to make possible overall economic planning for prosperity and security. 'Planning for economic expansion in the interests of the whole community' has little or no meaning, except as a deception, in conditions where rent, interest and profit are the primary motives of economic activity. The only positive part of the resolution on National Economic Policy, supported by fourteen unions and approved at the T.U.C., called for the return of the Labour Government with policies based on economic expansion and, for substance, an extension of public ownership.

Nationalisation would have to be substantial and different in character from that implemented by the Labour Government of 1945/51. Yet the only other resolution approved by the T.U.C. on this issue, merely endorsed Labour Party policy for the nationalisation of road haulage and for the dissolving of the B.O.A.C./Cunard Company *without compensation*. Acceptance of the principle of 'No Compensation' even in the limited field in which it is made, is worth noting. This resolution also re-affirmed support for a co-ordinated and integrated transport system within which road, rail, river and coastwise shipping (airways not mentioned) would play a part. It deprecates Government policy that the sole criterion is profitability and not social service; the handing over to private enterprise of contracts previously carried out by direct labour and the proposed sale of the British Road Services workshops. Good—but not good enough. A fully integrated transport system can only be freed from the criterion of 'profitability' when private enterprise no longer has a stake in the kitty.

With respect to the first of these two resolutions, the General Council is called on to work out a positive statement for the 1963 Congress on 'objectives' for economic planning, and on 'what changes', if any, in trade union policy and negotiating machinery are necessary to meet this new situation. The General Council, in another resolution, is called upon to examine trade union organisation and structure including the T.U.C. itself, with a view to making it

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better fitted to meet modern conditions. Changes in trade union organisation and structure are long overdue. The General Secretary of the T.U.C. made it clear at Blackpool that any examination must be on the basis of the purpose of the trade unions, presumably having regard to the General Council's conclusions on 'objectives of economic planning'.

One of the purposes of the trade unions, as contained in the T.U.C. constitution (the nearest equivalent to Clause 4, paragraph 4 of the Labour Party constitution) is to take such action 'as the General Council considers necessary and as Congress may approve for public ownership and control of natural resources and services'. If these aims, inadequate as they may be, were to be the substance of the two reports on policy, purpose and organisation which the General Council is to present to next year's Congress, it would make some sense and give more substance to the policy of economic planning approved at Blackpool. If they do not present a fundamental challenge to the monopolists, finance jugglers, take-over bidders and Stock Exchange speculators nor propose a substantial extension of social ownership, then the challenge will need to come from affiliated unions.

At last year's Labour Party Conference a composite resolution called for an investigation and report to the 1962 Conference on 'the whole question of applying the principle of public ownership . . . to the industries and services on which a high degree of concentration has taken place . . . as the basis on which the Labour Government should act'. These investigations also to cover 'the Stock Exchange, banking and insurance'; and consideration of methods whereby workers could have greater participation in the control and management of publicly owned industries. This was too much for Gaitskell and the right-wing, who mouth phrases about capturing 'the commanding heights of the economy' but on the pretext that 'what was needed was not new programmes but the ability to put across the existing one' claim that *Signposts for the Sixties* is enough to be going on with. The extent to which this programme meets the needs of the people is shown by the defeat of this resolution on the advice of the platform by $3\frac{3}{4}$ million to $2\frac{1}{2}$ million votes.

Another resolution called on the next Labour Government to apply public ownership to the land, motor manufacturing, machine tools, chemicals, sugar, iron and steel, road haulage, building, finance and insurance, and was met by the same fate, being defeated by $4\frac{1}{2}$ million to over $1\frac{1}{2}$ million votes. Gaitskell's argument in favour

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of *Signposts for the Sixties* and against the socialist content of these two resolutions was that, being a free society, planning is only possible with full co-operation from both sides of industry, 'co-operation with fair play and a sense of social justice'. It may well be asked—social justice for whom—for those who by labour are the source of all wealth, or for those who live on other people's labours?

There is another way, the socialist way, of really capturing the commanding heights of the economy by social ownership. That is, of course, too elementary for the right wing who favour public investment in capitalist enterprise, but only when public funds are involved, is a public sharing—merely sharing—in control permissible. The rights of the investor must be protected and when public funds are invested, it is used to give favours to the private investor and private enterprise, as the miners and railwaymen know to their cost. The meritricious society, as Harold Wilson called it, 'in which money counts more than people, profits more than service and making money is cleverer and more rewarding than earning it' must be protected!

Where social ownership is applied in the socialist world there is no vested interest to consider, only the interests of the people as a whole. The Soviet Union is in advance of the capitalist countries in the world in scientific achievement; hence the spectacular successes in the Cosmos. It is also in advance in other fields of social and economic activity and is now working to a programme designed to overtake the U.S.A. in production per head, standard of living, and in education and culture—during the present decade. This is not because the Russian people are better than the American, British or other people. Rather it expresses a contrast between two social systems. In Britain we can equal the achievements of the socialist world, but we must make a speedy change in the direction of trade union and labour policy.

It is people who matter, and when the British people decide to take over the means of production distribution and exchange, there will be no end to their achievements. Only with a system of trading between free people of all nations on the basis of social ownership of the economy, not the Common Market, will the world be at peace and mankind go on from victory to victory over the forces of nature and live without fear of tomorrow. That is the policy with which the T.U.C. and Labour Party should be concerned, and which working people everywhere should decide to follow.

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TRAMS

Wilfred Macartney*

A TRAM is a tram is a tram is a tram; so might Gertrude Stein have sung, since it was her family investments in trams, or streetcars, which gave her life roses all the way. Trams were bright, romantic vehicles, beloved of many writers. Ford Madox Ford wrote lyrically of the bright gondola flashing in and out of the London river, canals and fogs. 'At night, too, when the broad flat streets out in the suburb are deserted, these electric trams appear romantic and a little wonderful. Gongs sound at their approach a little plaintively, headlights blaze out upon the black night, the lights within are a tall, mellow flood, a reflection is cast, dim and flying, upon old black houses behind trees and upon the large blank windows of the tall pink and terracotta shops that face them. The great rectangular blaze glides along with a heavy impersonal groan of sound that is like a new form of silence.'

Arnold Bennett just could not keep trams out of his books and one does not know whether the potteries invented the tram and Arnold Bennett, or possibly Bennett invented both. Dreiser uses Charles Yerkes, a streetcar magnate from the United States, for his great novel, 'The Titan'. Yerkes built the London underground: it was the straphangers who provided the profit, he explained. Connolly and Larkin, in the great Dublin strike, jolted the gaily painted Murphy tram car into the revolutionary scene; and in 1936 the workers in Barcelona filled three tram cars with dynamite, fixed a fuse to the magnetic brake and sent them up the *ramblas* to the Plaza Colonna, where they blew out of existence the second Regiment of Artillery, revolting against the lawful government of Spain.

Matthew Arnold is said to have died running after a tram in Liverpool, a sorry end for a poet; and the ecclesiastical architect Guadi was run over by one, owned by the Roman Catholic Church in Spain.

The tramways were working-class conveyances and it was always the workman's and indeed, his wife's and children's means of getting about; hence, maybe, its demise.

Mr. Charles Klapper has written a brilliantly informative and

*Wilfred Macartney, author of 'Walls Have Mouths' and 'Zigzags' comes of a tramway building and operating family. Macartney, McElroy Ltd. built systems in Glasgow, Aberdeen, Southampton, Lisbon, Malta, Scranton (New Jersey) and many other places. He had begun to serve his apprenticeship at the age of 15, in Westinghouse, Pittsburgh, U.S.A., when the first world war broke out. He came back to England and at a very early age became a second lieutenant in the Royal Scots.

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affectionately illustrated book* about the dear old friends who in many cities carried us anywhere at any time for a penny and sometimes a ha'penny. Mr. Klapper's book is just full of information, technical and historical. Tramways have been used for much longer than railways or trains and were perhaps used in classical times. There were horse trams, cable trams, steam trams, electric trams—and naked-women-hauled trams in Great Britain's pits not so long ago, a bare 150 years.

> One only regrets that at no time did any central Government help to develop or retain tramways, which during the time of two wars were a great national asset, as they were produced from material in this country and used power generated in this land from home produced fuel, and, therefore, were wholly independent of anything from overseas. Tramways were always hampered by having to pay rates on their tracks and having to maintain the paving between the rails and on either side, and operators were exasperated by seeing competitive vehicles not only taking advantage of the road which they built and paid for but actually obstructing the cars.

And they were municipally owned.

Mr. Chaceley T. Humpidge's introduction contains this passage of such deadly appropriateness that it should cause worry to the profit-making Dr. Beeching and clever trick cyclist, Mr. Marples. Beeching might remember when assassinating the railways that they were the best transport system in the world. In the 1914-1918 and 1939-1945 wars, the trains, the railways and the trams carried nearly 40 million men to war. The loop-line round Putney carried more munitions than the whole of the French and the American railway systems put together in the First World War, and in the second it also carried a massive amount of material. Everything needed today to propel buses and cars must be imported: rubber, petrol and so on.

It was the horrific nuptials of John D. Rockefeller and Henry Ford which brought from that foul couch the acrid stench and the infernal means to murder public transport in the cities—which seldom maimed and rarely killed the citizen—and to provide private transport, which kills not like Saul but more than David.

When a tramway system is ably managed and well supported, it survives unsubsidised, even though it pays taxes and rates. (Blackpool, where the tramway system is possibly the best in the world, has large gondolas running 14 miles from Fleetwood almost to St. Annes. Indeed, in this jolly city, just recently the Corporation were going to put licensed bars in the trams; and then some Home Office

*'The Golden Age of Tramways' by Charles Klapper. *Routledge and Kegan Paul*, 328 pp. 40s.

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puritan stopped all that.) Mr. Klapper, with the aid of some remarkable photographs, tells us that the tram at one time in America used to whizz along at 60 miles an hour. Most remarkable of the Pacific electric stock was a tram built for the tycoon Huntingdon in 1905, which had two bedrooms, a kitchen and dining room to seat ten. It was called the 'Alabama' and was used for high speed runs across Western California, and reputed to have averaged 80 miles an hour: and, with the motors disconnected, it was said to run independently on a main line as an ordinary private saloon. Alas, the Sacramento California railways murdered it in almost a Shakespearian fashion. Grisly, gruesome and dark. (That other tycoon, William Randolph Hearst, waged war on Huntingdon, and was said to have remarked: 'That man owns almost all California, and he has almost come to believe that dishonesty is his birthright. I'll show him it isn't!') The tramway system which paid the lowest wages and the highest profit of any—a regular 100 per cent—was that in Kiev, operated by the Knoop family and financed, in the last resort, by the Mellon banking group of Pittsburg. But that was before the First World War and socialist revolution.

The motorcar salesman, the modern horse-coper, and the fumes helped in polluting the air, vandalising the countryside and killing the people. Trams were predictable. Soon, there will be no trains nor trams. Revolution or war in the Muddle East (Asia Minor) oilfields were interrupted by Suez. In a future crisis we may all have to walk. Good for the liver, but a drastic cure.

BOOKS

Asia in the Balance
Michael Edwardes
Penguin Books. 200 pp. 3s. 6d.

Britain and China
Evan Luard
Chatto & Windus. 256 pp. 25s.

The Upsurge of China
Dr. Hewlett Johnson
New World Press, Peking. 374 pp. 10s. 6d.

AS ANY British writer in the mid-twentieth century must, Mr. Edwardes looks with a critical eye on Western activities, past and present, in Asia. Unfortunately, the rather artificial form he chooses—chapter headings include 'Motives of Discontent', 'Threats to Peace', 'The Problems as Propaganda' and 'The Problems as They Really Are'—produces a confused and confusing picture, which the absence of an index does nothing to clarify. A more straightforward treatment by countries and regions would have shed a much clearer light on imperialism in Asia.

Nevertheless, there is much of value in the book. Despite his non-Marxist and anti-Communist approach, Mr. Edwardes is good on the disintegrating and impoverishing effects of colonialism on Asian subsistence economies.

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On India, the country he appears to know best, Mr. Edwardes is pessimistic, insisting that 'massive economic aid' is essential for economic progress, though he realises that this will not solve the fundamental problems. He looks on 'guided democracy' or military rule as likely political developments, if India is not to 'divide into small national totalitarianisms of the most reactionary colour', and even envisages a strong possibility of 'some form of religious fascism'.

Mr. Edwardes repeatedly acknowledges the appeal of Communist ideas and policies in Asia—'Chinese propaganda carries conviction'—and he even criticises America's anti-Communist policies and support of reactionary regimes (though without admitting that these policies are throughout Asia, as elsewhere, the main obstacle to progress and the main danger to peace). Nevertheless he accepts uncritically the crudest anti-Chinese propaganda, both on China's internal affairs and on her relations with her neighbours. Reliance on second-hand sources is revealed by his reference to Mao Tse-tung as Chairman of the People's Republic, a post in which he was succeeded by Liu Shao-chi three years ago.

Equally uncritical, and more serious because superficially more plausible, is Mr. Edwardes' acceptance of the idea of 'Two Chinas' as a policy which might lead to a solution of the problem created by U.S. occupation of Taiwan (Formosa).

Mr. Luard (who is also the recently adopted Labour candidate for Oxford City) deals with a narrower, but still large, subject in a more academic way. Carefully written and well argued, his book (the first in a series sponsored by the Leverhulme Trust entitled *Britain in the World Today*) is a nicely balanced statement of a moderate liberal British view of China, based largely on official, business, and missionary sources. In general, he surveys objectively those chapters of Anglo-Chinese relations that belong to the past, but is unconvincing when it comes to current issues. Thus he ends a critical analysis of the 'Amethyst' incident with the fair comment that 'it no doubt served to convince many, not only in China but throughout Asia, that the gunboat mentality was not yet dead'. But on 'Two Chinas', while recognising that no such solution is acceptable to the Chinese, he explicitly recommends it as one towards which 'Britain should perhaps seek to move'. His statement that, on both the issue of Taiwan and that of Chinese representation in the United Nations, 'Britain's own viewpoint is not far different from that of the Chinese Government' and that 'the fundamental difference between Britain and China ... has concerned not the merits of the two cases, but the extent to which Britain has been ready to seek to make her own opinion prevail over those of other governments' is in fact a lame excuse for the subservience to the U.S. of successive British Governments, Labour and Conservative.

Mr. Luard's last two chapters are entitled 'Chinese aspirations and British interests' and 'British policy and the future'. In the former he says that 'Chinese ideology has become to Britain as grave a threat as Chinese armies ... The spread of Communism in Asia ... is a threat not merely to the national interests of Britain but to the principles and ideals that she believes in.' Earlier in the book he quotes the Foreign Secretary's estimate (when announcing

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the British firms' decision in 1952 to withdraw) that British assets in China were worth between £200 and £250 million, but he makes no attempt to estimate how many thousands of millions had accrued to British capitalist interests from their exploitation of China over the previous 150 years. The Chinese, like many other nations, may well be sceptical about British 'principles and ideals'.

In his final chapter Mr. Luard considers how what he regards as British interests in relation to China might be furthered. He is constructive, if cautious, as regards trade, and realistic on Hongkong, which he recognises will eventually return to China, but when it comes to the question of peace in the 'Far East' he puts forward a conventional cold war line. The fact is that what he says is 'Britain's ultimate aim', i.e. 'to reduce the underlying tensions that still imperil man's future' is incompatible with a policy of 'seeking to prevent the spread of Communism and of governments sympathetic to its objects.' This is an inevitable weakness of the 'establishment' approach, which sees history in terms of power politics, and refuses to recognise that capitalism has had its day.

Dr. Hewlett Johnson's book is a very different story. In painting a picture based primarily on his wide travels in China in 1956 and 1959, he has the advantage of being able to make comparisons with the old China he saw in 1932. But his book, which draws on the diaries of his wife and daughters, and is illustrated by Mrs. Johnson's attractive drawings, is more than a travelogue, and contains much general observation and factual information (unfortunately unindexed) about the way in which China's people are building a new country for themselves. His reminder

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that in well-to-do English middle-class families the mother traditionally handed over the care of her children to others, and that Lenin admired this feature of English bourgeois life and wanted to extend the same freedom to every woman, is a valuable counter to one of the many stock libels on the Chinese, that they are 'destroying the family'. In the light of hindsight, some of his remarks may seem over-optimistic, but the basic picture of the building of socialism in China remains true.

DEREK BRYAN.

Defence or Retaliation
Helmut Schmidt
Oliver & Boyd. 264 pp. 25s.

AS THE years have passed since the first nuclear bomb was exploded, the political consequences of atomic energy have been borne upon the world with increasing force. The first bomb on Hiroshima was a political act. The story of the cold war could be told in terms of the attempt of Western powers, led by the United States, to use nuclear power to achieve world domination.

A whole literature, starting with Prof. Blackett's *Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy* of 1947, has appeared on this subject. Roughly speaking, it falls into two groups. The first consists of those (including Blackett) who, for the purposes of their argument at least, accept the political division of the world, generally side with the West, but point to the logical impossibility and irresponsibility of trying to maintain superiority with a weapon which is so enormously self-destructive for those who choose to use it. Both militarily and morally they are in a stronger position, and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in particular rests its case on these arguments. It was always very much a British case, and now that the so-called independent deterrent is on the way out, its limitations are being recognised. The second group consists of Americans like Kahn and the Rand Corporation 'experts' who want the bomb, are opposed to disarmament, and therefore carry forward the case for using the bomb first, in order to prepare the public for what they believe will inevitably happen. So far Western Germany has not been noticeably interested in the nuclear debate, but the imminent possibility of possessing nuclear weapons is bound to affect their thinking. Mr. Helmut Schmidt sets out to introduce the West German population to the kind of situation that Liddell-Hart, Blackett, Slessor and others have so effectively impressed upon the British mind. But because West German policy is more rigidly cold war than that of Britain, it creeps into his arguments all through the book. In particular Mr. Schmidt will not carry his arguments against nuclear weapons into the political arena with any force, nor challenge the bi-partisan policy of Adenauer and Brandt.

But there are nevertheless some interesting chapters in his book. He reveals on the purely military level the disunity in Nato, the main reason for which is the attempt of the United States to thrust its policy down the throat of its allies. Successive policies of 'massive retalia-

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tion', 'limited nuclear war', making Nato 'a nuclear power', have all created divisions. For two reasons. First, the operation of any of these policies would mean the destruction of western Europe, and while there are few politicians who think that is too high a price to pay, public opinion begs to differ. Secondly, United States superiority has declined *vis-a-vis* the U.S.S.R., and the fear grows that the U.S. might not be willing to support militarily the policies which reactionary governments in Europe are pursuing for their own (as they see it) national interests. This fear really does have an effect on the politicians.

Schmidt provides a very useful background to the conflict that is now coming right out into the open, but which has been raging for years, between the U.S. and those of its allies who desire to possess or retain their own nuclear striking forces. He comes down on the side of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, though as Defence Expert he prefers to choose the less explosive military arguments rather than the more important political ones. His best chapter is on the subject of disengagement in Europe. What he has to say shows that the peace movement has been making the mistake of underestimating both the importance of disengagement and the impact that it has made so far. Schmidt himself is a case in point. While he cannot face up to the political consequences of peaceful coexistence, he will accept disengagement as a kind of 'middle way'. He says, 'the West must stop thinking that it has a clear choice between the fulfilment of all its demands and the preservation of the *status quo*'. In this way he puts his finger on the vital and explosive question of nuclear arms for Western Germany, and he is prepared to recognise that if Adenauer and Strauss have their way, then this will be outright provocation against the Soviet Union. We could, he argues, reach a point of 'no return'. He cannot clinch his argument by advancing a really practical way of preventing this happening, because like the leadership of the West German Social Democratic Party, he refuses to recognise the existence of the German Democratic Republic. But his arguments are still useful.

COLIN SWEET.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

India and Parliament. Hiren Mukerjee. People's Publishing House, New Delhi. 164 pp. 850 Rs.
Indian Trade Union Movement. Gopal Ghosh, Calcutta. 2 Rs.
Shaw the Villager. Allan Chappelow. Charles Skilton Ltd. 354 pp. 42s.
International Law. Academy of Sciences. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books. 478 pp. 8s. 6d.
Psychopathology and Psychiatry. I. P. Pavlov. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, and Central Books. 544 pp. 21s.
Factors in Economic Development. A. K. Cairncross. Allen & Unwin Ltd. 346 pp. 35s.
An Atlas of World Affairs. Andrew Boyd. Methuen Ltd. 160 pp. 7s. 6d.
The American Revolution. Herbert Aptheker. Lawrence & Wishart. 304 pp. 30s.
The Rule of Folly. James R. Newman. Allen & Unwin Ltd. 64 pp. 6s.
Africa Today and Tomorrow. John Hatch. Dennis Dobson Ltd. 344 pp. 30s.
Socialism, Democracy and Industrialisation. Amlan Datta. Allen & Unwin Ltd. 118 pp. 16s.
Revisionism. Edited by Leopold Labedz. George Allen & Unwin. 404 pp. 37s. 6d.
Soviet Foreign Policy After Stalin. David J. Dallin. Methuen & Co. Ltd. 554 pp. 50s.
The Foot of Clive. John Berger. Methuen & Co. Ltd. 198 pp. 18s.
Counter-Revolutionary Agent, Cuba. Hans Tanner. G. T. Foulis & Co. 162 pp. 22s. 6d.

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(Continued from page ii of cover)

My mail was always tampered with, but they got through and I lent them to the progressives in the camp. Like all countries Canada has a great tradition of labour struggles, past, present and future. The future belongs to the common people, and the working class press is the greatest medium for bringing the truth to the people. We should echo round the world the words: "The lies written in ink can never cover up the facts written in blood". Chief Lutuli quoted these words from Lu Hsun in his Nobel Peace Prize speech.' But our friend was referring to conditions thirty or forty years ago in a company town? Here is a letter from a Canadian subscriber, asking us to cancel the current subscription: 'After being six months out of work, we are now working in a company town, with a company post office, so we can't take a chance on our mail. I feel badly about this, and I hope you will understand our position. When we "come out" for a holiday once a year, we shall write and send a donation. You can see here union against union, with gutless leadership busy "fighting Communism" and thus helping the bosses. These people are traitors to their class. What an inspiration L.M. has been to us! I won't say goodbye but use an English term: "Cheerio", and a Canadian: "Be seeing you".'

This summer a group of veterans visited the Soviet Union, mostly for the first time, and saw socialism, which they have devoted their lives to winning for Britain. When we were there we heard about them, for they inspired such affection and admiration that young Russians eagerly asked other British visitors: 'Do you know a wonderful old comrade called. . .?' One of these veterans, well known for her sterling trade union record in the furniture trade, writes: 'Your reference to the War Memorial Burial Ground at Leningrad brought back vividly the evidence I saw of what the Russian people endured—and achieved, and are still achieving. How happy I was to see New Man in the making! So, as a very small tribute both to them and to L.M., I send along this gift, and intend to repeat it each month, and wish it were more.' Some donations are so rich that they deserve to be set in gold, like jewels. Instead, they must be used, like this half crown, as ammunition in the fight to make Britain socialist. August donations totalled:

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